

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 119877 TOSEC 010220

64

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE, MORNING, MAY 22, 1975

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM FUNSETH, S/PRS

NO. 11

1. NYTIMES - GELB REPORTS HAK'S REAFFIRMATION OF LINK BETWEEN WBERLIN, WESTERN EUROPE AND U.S. SECURITY. "FOR MR. KISSINGER WESTERN EUROPE HAS MEANT PRIMARILY WGERMANY AND WBERLIN." AN AIDE SAYS "TO HENRY, WASHINGTON AND BONN ARE THE TWO KEY PLAYERS." CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS HELD IN HIGH REGARD BY STATE DEPT. AS REPRESENTATIVE OF "NEW STRONG GERMANY." HAK TAKING CARE THAT MBFR DOES NOT LEAD TO BONN'S ISOLATION. CONCERN IS THAT A "FREE FLOATING"

WGERMANY WOULD UNHINGE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

2. WASHPOST - MARDER REPORTS TIGHT SECURITY ON HAK VISIT TO WBERLIN. SOVIET DISPLEASURE WITH VISIT AND SOVIET DIMENSION OF BERLIN SITUATION ARE EMPHASIZED. "AUTHORITATIVE AMERICAN SOURCE" SAID SOVIET UNION STILL SEEMS TO HOLD TO OLD OBJECTIVE OF DETACHING WBERLIN FROM WEST. RESTATING KENNEDY'S PLEDGE TO CITY, HAK TOLD BERLINERS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 119877 TOSEC 010220

THAT "THEY HAVE GAINED MANY BENEFITS OF NORMAL LIFE" THANKS TO 1972 ACCORD. BERLIN OFFICIALS SAY THEY HAVE CONFIDENCE IN GUARANTEES OF PROTECTING POWERS. AS A

RESULT OF SENATE VOTE ON TURKISH ARMS, HAK BELIEVES IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN U.S. AND TURKEY.

3. UPI - CAGLAYANGIL WARNED HAK THAT UNLESS U.S. CONGRESS LIFTS EMBARGO IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE RELATIONS WILL BE SERIOUSLY IMPERILLED. LEFT WING STUDENTS IN IZMIR BURNED AMERICAN FLAG AND SHOUTED "KISSINGER MURDERER" AND "DOWN WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM."

4. REUTERS - NELSON SAYS HAK'S TASK COMPLICATED BY SHAKY CONDITION OF DEMIREL'S COALITION. RIGHT WING MAY PREVENT CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS. PROBLEM HAS THREE PARTS: ONE, HOW MUCH TERRITORY TO GIVE BACK TO GREEKS; TWO, FORM OF NEW CENTRAL GOVERNMENT; THREE, HOW MANY GREEKS TO ALLOW BACK INTO TURKISH HELD AREAS. NO SOLUTION TO THESE EXPECTED NOW BUT HAK IS LAYING FOUNDATION FOR PRES FORD'S SPONSORSHIP OF SETTLEMENT BETWEEN GREEK AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTERS AT NATO SUMMIT. HAK BELIEVES SENATE VOTE ON TURKISH ARMS WILL DELAY TURKISH THREAT TO CLOSE BASES INCLUDING SECRET LISTENING POSTS.

5. AP (FREED) - ADDRESSING CENTO MINISTERS, HAK REPEATED CENTRAL THEME OF TRIP: "AMERICA'S WORD IS VALUABLE." A SENIOR OFFICIAL ON THE PLANE TOLD NEWSMEN THAT MORE IMPORTANT PURPOSE THAN CENTO MEETING WAS PROMOTION OF GREEK-TURKISH SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES. OFFICIAL SAID THAT HAK WAS FULLY INFORMED ON GREEK POSITION. HAK ALSO ANNOUNCED SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION BUT NOT COMPLETE EVACUATION OF AMERICANS IN LAOS.

6. KALB, FIRST LINE REPORT - TODAY HAK JOINED FOUR

OTHER FMS IN ANOTHER ONE OF THOSE ANNUAL GET-TOGETHERS AT CENTO. HE PLACED A WREATH AT THE FOOT OF ATATURK'S TOMB, REVIEWED A MILITARY GUARD OF HONOR AND THEN IN ARTFUL LANGUAGE RECOMMITTED THE U.S. TO THE PURPOSES OF CENTO.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 119877 TOSEC 010220

IN THESE POST-VIETNAM DAYS OF REASSESSMENT, SUCH RECOMMITMENTS COME EASY. THEY ARE IN FACT NECESSARY THOUGH FOR NEGATIVE REASONS. THEIR ABSENCE WOULD PROBABLY TOUCH OFF SPECULATION THAT THE U.S. CAN NO LONGER FULFILL ITS COMMITMENTS. WEAKENED BY DOUBT AND IRRESOLUTION THE U.S. IS WITHDRAWING FROM GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY. BECAUSE PEOPLE HAVE COME TO EXPECT THE SECRETARY TO UNDERSCORE AMERICAN STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION, HE DOES SO; CENTO TODAY, BERLIN YESTERDAY. IT IS IN THE NATURE OF HIS DIPLOMATIC STYLE BUT THERE IS A RISK, A RISK OF OVER-STATEMENT AND OVER SIMPLIFICATION. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE HE

WAS ADDRESSING A GROUP OF AMERICANS IN BERLIN, HE SAID,

RIDING A PARTICULARLY HIGH CREST OF ELOQUENCE, THAT THE U.S. WOULD NEVER SACRIFICE THE VALUES OR INTERESTS OF ITS ALLIES. NEVER? SOUTH VIETNAM WAS ABANDONED ONLY SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. TO ARGUE THAT CONGRESS ABANDONED SOUTH VIETNAM NOT THE ADMINISTRATION IS ONLY TO DUCK THE ISSUE. FOR THE PROBLEM IS HOW DO THE ISRAELIS DISTINGUISH BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION, IT'S ALL THE UNITED STATES TO THEM. OF COURSE, NO ONE REALLY QUESTIONS THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO DEFEND BERLIN FOR THIS COMMITMENT WAS NOT SPAWNED BY ANY TREATY. BUT THERE IS A VERY LARGE QUESTION ABOUT CENTO. IT WAS BORN THE BAGDAD PACT IN THE MID 1950S WHEN ONE OF

KISSINGER'S PREDECESSORS JOHN FOSTER DULLES, A PACT BUILDER IN THOSE DAYS, PULLED STRINGS IN PAKISTAN, IRAN, IRAQ, TURKEY AND GBRITAIN AND CREATED THIS DEFENSIVE ORGANIZATION AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF DIRECT SOVIET AGGRESSION. IN 1958 IRAQ HAD A REVOLUTION AND PULLED OUT OF THE BAGDAD PACT. LOSING ITS HOME BASE IN THIS FASHION THE OTHER MEMBERS RECONSTITUTED THEMSELVES AS . CENTO, THEIR PURPOSE, HOWEVER, THE SAME. THE U.S. BECAME AN OBSERVER THOUGH A VERY ACTIVE ONE. THROUGH THE 1960'S AMERICANS BECAME LESS AND LESS CONVINCED OF CENTO'S UTILITY. CONGRESS RAN A STUDY WHICH PRODUCED THE LESS THAN STARTLING CONCLUSION THAT CENTO HAD OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS AND THE U.S. OUGHT TO CUT ALL TIES TO IT. EVEN IF HAK WANTED TO CUT AMERICAN TIES HE COULD NOT AT THIS POINT BECAUSE THE ACTION WOULD SURELY BE MISINTER-
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 119877 TOSEC 010220

PRETEND, SO, OF NECESSITY BY THE SHEER PULL OF CIRCUM- STANCE HE BECOMES A PRISONER OF A DECAYING INSTITUTION, DRAWN TO PARTICIPATE IN A TWO-DAY MEETING WHICH HE KNOWS IS NOT REALLY WORTHY OF HIS TIME. HE IS HERE, AS ONE OFFICIAL PUT IT, TO SHOW THE FLAG. THERE ISN'T MUCH TO TALK TO PAKISTAN ABOUT, OR IRAN OR GBRITAIN. AND A TALK WITH TURKISH LEADERS IS REALLY AN OCCASION TO DISCUSS CYPRUS WHICH COULD BE DONE NEXT WEEK WHEN EVERYONE WILL BE GETTING TOGETHER IN BRUSSELS FOR A NATO SUMMIT MEETING. IT IS CLEARLY A TIME FOR A RECOMMITMENT, BUT TO WHAT?

7. KALB, CBS FROM ANKARA - HAK MADE A VERY SPECIAL POINT OF STRESSING THE ADMINISTRATION'S HIGH REGARD FOR TURKEY, A VALUED FRIEND AND ALLY, THE SECRETARY SAID,

DURING HIS ADDRESS TO THE OPENING SESSION OF THE CENTO. IT DID NOT APPEAR TO MAKE TOO MUCH OF AN IMPACT. THE TURKISH FM QUICKLY ISSUED A VERY BLUNT WARNING TO THE U.S. THAT IMPLIED AMERICAN MILITARY BASES IN TURKEY WOULD SOON BE CLOSED DOWN BECAUSE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL

BAN ON THE SHIPMENT OF AMERICAN ARMS TO TURKEY. THE

SENATE VOTE EARLIER THIS WEEK, A SQUEAKER 41 TO 40 IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THAT BAN, HAD A RATHER DEPRESSING EFFECT ON THE TURKS WHO HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE VOTE WOULD BE MUCH MORE POSITIVE. HAK IS STILL HOPING HE CAN HOLD OFF THE TURKS AND KEEP AMERICAN BASES OPEN HERE BUT HE KNOWS HE IS RUNNING OUT OF TIME.

8. FREED - WMAL, AP FROM ANKARA - HAK CAME TO TURKEY WEDNESDAY FOR THE OFFICIAL REASON OF REPRESENTING THE U.S. AT THE FMS CONFERENCE OF CENTO. BUT AS IS OFTEN THE CASE WHEN HAK DOES SOMETHING OR GOES SOMEWHERE THE REAL REASONS AND THE OFFICIAL REASONS DIFFER. THE ACTUAL MOTIVE FOR THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO TURKEY HAS TWO PARTS: FIRST, TO CONTINUE WHAT A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL TRAVELLING WITH HAK CALLED "SHOWING THE FLAG," THAT IS, TELLING AIDES THEY CAN COUNT ON AMERICAN PROMISES AND SUPPORT. THE SECOND AND MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR HAK'S TWO DAYS STAY IS TO CONVINCE THE TURKS TO HELP HIM FIND A SOLUTION TO THEIR CONFLICT WITH GREECE OVER CYPRUS. THAT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 119877 TOSEC 010220

SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL HOLDS OUT SOME HOPE PROGRESS MAY BE BEAR ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE BUT THE PROGRESS WILL BE SLOW.

9. MARVIN KALB, RADIO FROM ANKARA - KISSINGER HAD A SERIES OF MEETINGS TODAY WITH TOP TURKISH LEADERS. BUT AMERICAN OFFICIALS STILL BELIEVE THAT TURKEY WILL SOON BEGIN TO CLOSE DOWN U.S. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, BASICALLY BECAUSE CONGRESS VOTED EARLIER THIS YEAR TO IMPOSE A BAN ON THE SALE AND DELIVERY OF U.S. MILITARY HARDWARE FOR TURKEY. THE SENATE VOTE THIS WEEK, 41-40, IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THAT BAN HAD A VERY ODD EFFECT HERE. FAR FROM EASING TURKISH CONCERN, THE VOTE SEEMED TO DEEPEN IT. AS ONE TURKISH OFFICIAL EXPLAINED IT, WILLIAM MACOMBER HAD BEEN TELLING THEM THAT THE SENATE WAS STRONGLY ON THE SIDE OF LIFTING THE BAN AND THAT THE REAL PROBLEM IN WASHINGTON WAS IN THE HOUSE OF REPS. THE CLOSE VOTE IN THE SENATE UNDERCUT MACOMBER'S CREDIBILITY AND SUGGESTED THAT THE BAN MAY NOT BE LIFTED ANY TIME SOON. KISSINGER IN HIS PRIVATE MEETINGS HERE TODAY RAN INTO THIS TURKISH ATTITUDE ACROSS THE BOARD, WHICH NOW MAKES IT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO WIN TURKISH POSITION IN TURKEY CONTINUES DESPITE BRAVE RHETORIC FROM THE KISSINGER PARTY.

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